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WRL NEWS

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DAN BERRIGAN ACCEPTS WRL AWARD

On October 19 of last year, Daniel Berrigan gave a speech sharply critical of both the Arab states and of Israel. The reaction to Berrigan's speech was intense, particularly after the *New York Times* quoted only his critical comments on Israel, leaving unreported his scathing comments on the Arab states.

One peace organization had planned to give Berrigan its Gandhi Peace Award and then backed quickly away after the intensity of the attacks on Berrigan. At this point the WRL Executive Committee decided that not only did Dan Berrigan merit the League's Award in any case, but that the campaign to label him anti-Semitic and to block an open discussion of Israeli policy had to be confronted. The League's Executive Committee offered Berrigan the award, arranged to fly him back from Paris to receive it, and went to work preparing our own lengthy statement on the Middle East.

At a press conference on Friday morning March 15, the League made public its statement on the Middle East (which is being printed and will shortly be available to all members). That evening more than 270 people jammed into St. Luke's Church for the annual dinner–by far the largest number ever to attend.

Thanks to the hard work of members of the Greenwich Village Peace Center, and the efforts of many, many members of the League who brought dishes for the pot luck dinner, all were fed and some food was even left over.

Chaired by Irma Zigas, the group heard the wording of the Peace Award; "The Fourteenth Annual Peace Award of the War Resisters League is given to Daniel Berrigan for his irritating vocation as a prophet in our time, angering us in our complacency, embracing us in our humanity. In leaping beyond his own limits, he has led us beyond ours".

Allen Ginsberg read a deeply moving poem, handed the scroll to Dan, who made some brief remarks of his own, and the annual dinner closed with more than the usual sense of celebration. One member who could not attend, Anne Fullerton of Nashville, Tenn., had sent a short note before the dinner: "I am sending you money (I normally don't have much to spare) because you have made a decision that reflects the integrity of your organization above the rest of the peace movement: to give Dan Berrigan the WRL Peace Award."

Photo by Grace Hedemann

WRL TRAINING PROGRAM

A week and an half of intensive training and discussion on organizing skills. The first four days will be spent in theoretical discussion and work projects at the Community for Nonviolent Action in Voluntown, Conn. The next seven days will be spent in New York City learning specific training skills, and visiting a variety of social concern programs. For more information read the *WRL Training Program* enclosure. Write c/o Grace Hedemann, Special Projects Secretary for an application. Deadline date on applications April 30. Out of New York City and high school/college age will be given preference.

MNS Programs

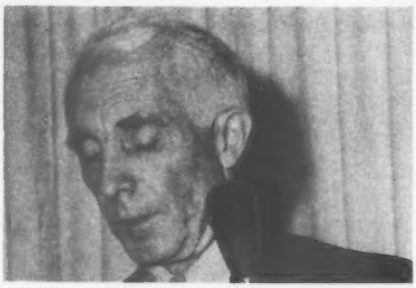
The Philadelphia Training Program of the Movement for New Society will begin a new training group May 1 and another in the early Fall. The program, organized by the Training Organizing Collective in Philadelphia, is a two-year intensive program designed to train worker-organizers for MNS and long-term involvement in the struggle for nonviolent revolution. Through workshops, seminars, participation in community, and involvement in field work, participants will have opportunity to explore essential elements of radical social change such as: an analysis of world society, vision of a new society, personal growth, nonviolent action, organizing skills, alternative life styles, community, bread labor, the new culture, etc. Inquiries should be directed to TOC, 4713 Windsor Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19143.

AUTHOR OF CLASSIC ON NONVIOLENCE DIES

Word has reached us belatedly that Richard Gregg, author of THE POWER OF NONVIOLENCE, considered a classic interpretation of pacifism, died Jan. 27 in Eugene, Oregon, at the age of 91. "As he wished, there were no services and no memorials," writes his wife, Evelyn.

Printed originally in 1935, THE POWER OF NONVIOLENCE was updated in 1944 and again in 1959. Gregg had spent considerable time in India over the years, had held many discussions with Gandhi and once spent seven months at Gandhi's own ashram at Sabarmati. He belonged to both WRL and FOR.

In a foreward to the 1959 edition, Martin Luther King Jr. wrote: "The years since 1935 have not only demonstrated how uncontrollable war is when it breaks out; they have shown also how right Richard Gregg was in preparing the perceptive study in the first place. The heroic, though unanticipated nonviolent resistance against the Nazis in Denmark and Norway, recounted in this new edition, and by smaller groups in France, the Netherlands and in Germany, itself, was such a demonstration. So has been the struggle in South Africa against unjust laws and our own experience in Montgomery." (This latest edition is available from WRL at $1.95)



Gregg speaks at WRL Dinner in 1954.

LIT. ON MIDDLE EAST DEBATE

Special issue of WAR RESISTANCE (organ of our International) including articles by Uri Davis, Joseph Abileah and Prof. Arnold Toynbee. . . . . .75¢

Special issue of LIBERATION containing Dan Berrigan's much-maligned October 19 speech plus commentaries by Noam Chomsky, Dave Dellinger, Allen Ginsberg and Paul Loeb. $1

The Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East's new 36-page pamphlet, THE GREAT BERRIGAN DEBATE containing the speech together with responses from Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, Rabbi Balfour Brickner, etc., plus Berrigan's TV debate with Prof. Hans Morganthau. . . .50¢

MEMORIAL AT MY LAI

At My Lai, which has come to symbolize war at its most ruthless, Dr. Barnett Junker, longtime WRLer, decided last September to deposit some flowers on behalf of those Americans who are striving to abolish war for ever. In an accompanying scroll "to the memory of the hundreds of men, women and children of My Lai who were murdered by the U.S. armed forces," Dr. Junker wrote that the flowers were "in honor of the 50th anniversary of the War Resisters League." During 1973, he was staff physician with the AFSC Rehabilitation Center at Quang Ngai.

Photo by Dr. Barnett Junker

WRL STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The War Resisters League affirms that war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all the causes of war.

☐ I support this statement and wish to enroll as a member of the WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE.

signature

address

city

state zip code

Send to War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

ON THE KIDNAPPING OF PATRICIA HEARST

The following statement was adopted by WIN magazine and printed in its February 28 issue. In supporting it the WRL executive committee felt that two points should be added. First, is it not shocking to be told by authorities that to give every poor person in Calif. a mere $70 in food would amount to $400,000,000! Thus, the current controversy over the SLA action has brought attention to how grave is the matter of poverty. (And how sad a comment on our public officials, who are supposed to deal with the most pressing needs of the poor, that Gov. Reagan should have responded as he did, regarding the poor who had lined up to accept food hand-outs, by wishing for a bubonic plague.) Further we note that the $400,000,000 it would have cost to give every poor person in California $70 in food, is just under half the amount of military aid going to Saigon to kill poor people there this year alone.

FREE PATRICIA HEARST–A STATEMENT FROM WIN

We join with other radicals and movement groups in calling for the release of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army. Her death at their hands would not be an act of revolutionary violence, despite SLA rhetoric to that effect. It will be murder. We call on the SLA to give Pat Hearst her freedom, no matter what the response of her father to their specific demands.

Though WIN is opposed to political violence for both moral and political reasons, the assumptions of this particular incident demand specific criticism.

Patricia Hearst was kidnapped and is threatened with death for the so-called crimes of her father, the right wing newspaper publisher Randolph Hearst. In choosing her as its victim, the SLA is saying, in effect, that children are responsible and punishable for the politics of their parents. If this assumption is allowed to stand, then a large segment of the radical movement would be in a position similar to Patricia Hearst. It should be noted that Ms. Hearst was a McGovern activist (which is a radical position considering the politics of her family.) The man she is living with, who was beaten by the SLA kidnappers during her abduction, was a member of SDS. These factors do not make her kidnapping and his beating any more outrageous, but it does point to the shallowness of the SLA political thinking.

The demand that Randolph Hearst feed California's poor–admirable on the surface–is arrogant when thought through. As a humanitarian gesture, it ranks with the Christmas turkeys that the rich have traditionally given the poor to appease their consciences. It neither alters the power relationship between rich and poor, nor helps the poor become better organized to fight their own battles, which should be the goals of a radical movement.

It is also arrogant of the SLA to act in the name of others without their beneficiaries having a say in their activities. Playing Robin Hood to the California poor is self-serving. What the SLA is doing is setting themselves up as "protectors" of the poor. As such, it is ignoring and ultimately jeopardizing the long-term political struggle that poor people are engaged in on their own.

SLA members speak of their willingness to die for their cause, righteous words that again mask shallow gestures. People of all political persuasions–and many with none at all–have chosen to die for this cause or that in the past. But martyrdom is not a substitute for political struggle. Having kidnapped Patricia Hearst, the SLA now has the opportunity to break with the familiar scenario of death and establish a truly revolutionary precedent by choosing life and giving Patricia Hearst her freedom.

To murder an innocent person has no political meaning, though in this instance it is likely to discredit the radical movement in America and make the struggle of the poor more difficult.

Why go through with it then? Why should one person's life be dependent on the willingness or ability of others to meet SLA demands? Having come this far, the only reason for killing Pat Hearst would be to preserve the fantasy-image that the SLA has of itself as "militant revolutionaries." But this image is a false one, based as it is on elitism, vanguardism and the "see how tough we are" kind of machismo that has no place in a revolutionary movement.

WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT INDOCHINA

The Nixon Administration is waging war in Indochina, not just supporting it as major revelations over the last several months substantiate.

For the first time, the U.S. admits officially to supplying 80% of the income for the Thieu regime. The Pentagon has just asked for $474 million in supplemental military funding for FY 1974. David Shipler's *N.Y. Times* article Feb. 25 (available from WRL @ 15¢) details the role U.S. military men play daily in Thieu's army and air force. Shipler's article also mentions the continued role of the CIA in Thieu's police system.

A number of U.S. pilots have been killed since the ceasefire according to *Far Eastern Economic Review,* Feb. 11 and a charge has been made by a U.S. airman that U.S. personnel are being reintroduced into Laos.

Steps to reveal the war making involvement have been given significant impetus. Congressman Aspin's suit for the U.S. to reveal the amount of arms being shipped to Saigon since the ceasefire, and refusal by the State Department to allow the General Accounting Office to look into U.S. funding of South Vietnamese prisons has activated members of Congress to pursue the investigation.

What You Can Do To Help:

1) Write your representatives to cut or postpone the authorization of the additional $474 million in military aid for South Vietnam.

2) Request the release of the 300 fasting Buddhist monks at Chi Hoa.

3) Join HONOR THE PEACE campaign (see Jan./Feb. *WRL News*). New packet ($1.50) includes additional materials such as 1973 voting record of Congressional Representatives.

4) Participate in National event at KENT STATE on May 4 focusing on Cambodia; **or integrate Cambodia actions locally** with spring actions, and Congressional activities. Resources available from WRL.

5) Join CAMPAIGN FREEDOM for release of political prisoners. Packets available from WRL @ $5. See Jan./Feb. *WRL News* for more information.

ORGANIZING NOTES

by Ed Hedemann

Despite a post-"ceasefire" slump of peace movement organizing and the virtual disappearance of massive demonstrations, WRL people are continuing to organize in their communities.

A number of WRL locals have folded and some have split with one person solely doing UFW work, another amnesty, still another Chile, etc. It is my feeling that WRL needs a program that can be more or less uniquely identified as a League project that will help rally WRLers to support and work with the local group in their community. One suggestion for a project is in the area of "militarism", since it has been long neglected (primarily because of the immediacy of the Vietnam War), specifically, the Atomic Energy Commission with its continuing research, development, and assembly of nuclear weapons, power plant development, etc.

Please send us any suggestions you might like to share regarding a militarism project or other sorts of projects.

So far this year one WRL group has formed in St. Paul, Minnesota, another has affiliated with WRL near Santa Barbara, California, and one is being formed in Iowa City, Iowa. In addition there are organizing efforts in Louisville, near Chicago, Jacksonville (Florida), Staunton (Virginia), and rumblings in other areas.

Through the efforts of Dennis and Julie Wainstock and others in St. Paul, the Twin Cities WRL (30 Winter Street, St. Paul, MN 55103) began with educational activities centered around the political prisoners in South Vietnam. A joint WRL/FOR group on the University of Minnesota campus sponsored a debate with Mulford Sibley and Gary Prevost versus a conservative Republican professor and a VFWer. Mondays literature on the prisoners in South Vietnam is distributed. The movie "Papillon" was leafleted, pointing out similarities in prison conditions between France then and South Vietnam now.

Isla Vista Life Resource Center WRL (892 Camino del Sur, Isla Vista, CA 93017) affiliated with WRL in January. Their constituency is kept up to date with a nice little newspaper, "In the Tracks of the Dinosaur", and a monthly calendar. They hold weekly study sessions on nonviolent personalities and books. Danilo Dolci spoke on February 27 while on his seasonal tour of the country. The major upcoming event is a Festival of Nonviolence.

Iowa City WRL has joined a coalition of local amnesty people in initiating a defense fund for Allen Kelly, whose case "exemplifies the dilemma of the draft resister in exile." Kelly was busted by FBI agents on a 1970 draft rap when he returned to Rock Island, Ill. from Canada for his father's funeral. One of the agents, Robert Wickwire, was attending the funeral in a double capacity, being a close friend of Kelly's father. Kelly was permitted to return to Canada where he works with handicapped children, but bond was set at $15,000. Two local priests who know Kelly termed the pending prosecution as an "injustice."

Though mass demonstrations are passe for the moment, that doesn't mean successful ones don't exist. The most notable examples of successful WRL local demonstrations this year were the march on Leavenworth organized by Kansas City WRL in conjunction with VVAW, and the "thanking" of the Republicans (for the overthrow of Allende) at their annual $100/plate fund raising dinner by WRL/Southwest; both of these are reported elsewhere in this issue.

The locals are working on issues such as Chile, counter-recruiting, the death penalty, war tax resistance, impeachment, amnesty, United Farm Workers boycott, and prisons. But the two issues that most of the groups seem to be working on is *nonviolence education*, whether that be discussion sessions or trying to introduce peace education materials into local school districts (such as what the Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence is doing), and the *political prisoners* in South Vietnam.

It is heartening to see that despite the low profile Indochina is taking in the media, WRL local groups are working to free the political prisoners and stop aid to Thieu. At least 6 locals possess the NARMIC slide show, "The Post-war War" and that WRL's copy of the film *South Vietnam: A Question of Torture* has been shown by five locals this year.

Tax resistance is becoming a local group issue. It is the main focus of Seattle WRL this spring. Their campaign was aided by a seizure of Ellen Waters' car for $12 in unpaid telephone tax (which became $106 after miscellaneous charges were tagged on; then later mysteriously dropped). The car was returned and a bank account liened on for the $12. Detroit WRL is doing educational work around the World Peace Tax Fund Act, the legislative bill now in committee that would recognize a conscientious objector position for taxpayers. As the National Office of War Tax Resistance dissolves into regions this spring when Bob and Angie Calvert leave, at least 3 WRL locals will become regional headquarters.

On the National Office front, two aids (I hope) to local organizing have developed: 1) the *WRL Organizers' Bulletin*, a monthly newsletter among WRL local groups (two have been issued so far), and 2) the *WRL Organizer's Manual*.

The *WRL Organizer's Manual* is in loose-leaf form–6½" x 9½", black, 3-ring binder containing 4 primary categories: ORGANIZING SKILLS, suggestions and tips on the various aspects of organizing from setting up your own local group to leafleting to building a silk screen; DIRECT ACTION, models of action projects by locals such as leafleting in Binghamton, New York, to demonstrating in Los Alamos, New Mexico; STUDY GUIDES/BIBLIOGRAPHIES, suggestions for group discussion or individual study in areas such as nonviolence, anarchism, Gandhi, and radical economics; RESOURCES. The manual costs $3 which is good for all of 1974 since chapters will be mailed out continually. The *Manual* will never be completed as long as new ideas and needs arise.

ACTION TO IMPEACH NIXON

April 15-20	Congressional Easter Recess local actions beginning Tax Day.
April 24-26	Citizen's Lobby in D.C.
April 27	**National demonstration in Washington & Los Angeles.**

For further information contact Natl. Campaign to Impeach Nixon, 1404 M St. N.W., Washington, D.C. or WRL, which is a co-sponsor.

PEACE EXHIBIT IN D.C.

An outstanding educational institution in Washington is developing an exhibit on anti-war protest movements in the U.S. Emphasis will be on the mass anti-war rallies of the 60's and early 70's. Needed are a variety of artifacts such as banners, signs, buttons, armbands, photographs. Particularly wanted are artifacts from the giant Washington rallies of Oct. 1967, Nov. 1969, May 1970, April-May 1971, and Jan. 1973, but artifacts from major events in other parts of the country might be used as well.

WRLers who have any artifacts to contribute, *immediately*, should call Brad Lyttle collect (212) 777-5560, or 421-1529, or 531-6440. The artifacts must be collected before the end of April.

THE AMNESTY HEARINGS

by Irma Zigas

On March 8, 11 and 13 Subcommittee No. 3 of the House Judiciary Committee held hearings on the issue of amnesty. This Committee is headed by Cong. Robert Kastenmeier (Wis.) and includes Cong. Drinan (Mass.), Ed. Mezvinsky (Iowa), George Danielson (Calif.), Wayne Owens (Utah), Henry P. Smith, III (N.Y.), Charles W. Sandman, Jr. (N.J.), Tom Railsback (Ill.), and William S. Cohen (Me.). Notice of the hearings was sent to WRL and the letter stated "This letter is being sent to you because of your expressed interest in the amnesty question." We immediately wrote to the committee and requested time to testify. We were refused time to deliver oral testimony but were told we could submit testimony in writing to be included in the *Record.* This was done, but the issue is broader and more serious. I attended the hearings as the League representative and was appalled at the list of witnesses who were being given time to deliver their views.

A partial list of those who were in support of the Administration's position against amnesty follows: Leon Ulman, of the Dept. of Justice; Walter Morse, of the Selective Service System; F.P. Jones of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; the American Legion; World War I Vets; the Marine Corps League; Young Americans for Freedom and the Department of Defense. Robert Froehlke, former Secretary of the Army and Senator Robert Taft, Jr. (Ohio) favored limited, punitive amnesty. Among those who were invited to give oral testimony, who were for either partial or universal amnesty were: ACLU, Clergy and Laity, American Jewish Congress, Sane, CCCO, Gold Star Families for Amnesty, the National Council of Churches and Wisconsin Amnesty Project.

The distressing part of this list is the fact that with one or two exceptions no potential recipient of an amnesty was allowed to testify. Nor was a member of the pacifist movement given time. The media picked up the anti-amnesty testimony and in fact the Administration was given free publicity in all the news media for its position, as all the news stories that were printed discussed the issues the Administration is supporting. Specifically, that Congress has no legal right to legislate an amnesty, that it is not given these powers by the Constitution and that in fact the only person who can declare an amnesty is the President. And we all know where he stands.

Attempts were made by various groups and organizations to have the direct recipients testify. VVAW/WSO, Amex/Canada, Vancouver American Exile Committee, parents of exiles, deserters, Walter Collins of SCEF, wives and families of imprisoned G.I.'s and resisters were all standing ready to testify but were denied an opportunity.

The Selective Service System stated in its testimony that as of January 1, 1974, there were 5,119 draft violaters under indictment for various acts of resistance, nonregistration or noncooperation and 3,080 under investigation to see if they should be indicted. The Selective Service System claims that an amnesty would have an adverse effect on the SSS. First it would be incompatible with continuance of induction if and when that takes place. Second, what would happen to present violaters? According to the SSS own figures, 1% of the 18 year olds each year violates SS law, either by nonregistration or violation of some sort. And interestingly note, the SSS brought up the problem of WW I and WW II violaters who have not been amnestied, "What would become of them?" "They are not few in number", the spokesman said. And also he stated that "if you read the literature of organizations who encourage draft resistance, you will notice that they advocate nonregistration". The Catholic Conference of Bishops spoke for a limited amnesty and for selective CO status and said this was important to "preserve structure of public order". The American Jewish Congress spoke of the need for universal and unconditional amnesty and the problem of healing wounds, and not to bring up the war but to quote Leviticus, "Thou shall not bear a grudge against one's children."

One can be sympathetic with this viewpoint except that the Vietnam war cannot and should not be forgotten. It is exactly in the context of the war that the amnesty question should be raised. Is that why the League was refused a spot to testify? We raise the all too painful issue of who was responsible for the war. Who are the criminals? Not the resisters, deserters and vets, but Nixon, McNamara, Bundy and Laird. Laird is now touring the country speaking for a limited amnesty and alternative service for the "draft evaders", and avoiding the civilian resisters, the G.I.'s, the exiles, those underground and the less than honorably discharged vets. Froehlke believes in alternative public service of no fixed duration. He thinks it is possible that a man could be trained for and perform some useful service for the country in as short a period as 3 months. This is dangerous, punitive and if allowed to pass would lead to national service for all 18-year-olds.

The President has said "never" to amnesty in any form and in addition has refused to increase G.I. educational allowances, perhaps because the colleges during the Vietnam era were the principal source of resistance and protest.

A new Harris poll on amnesty shows that Americans have swung around to amnesty by 45-43 with a majority calling for public service. In addition, Senator Taft and Senator Pell have introduced a Resolution in the Senate called the Taft-Pell Earned Immunity Act of 1974. The substance of the punitive measure is that if a draft resister wants to earn immunity from prosecution because of his draft resistance he does some form of alternative service and he will not be prosecuted.

Given the latest Harris Poll and the fact that there are many people who can live with and accept some form of limited amnesty, there is no doubt in my mind that the House thought that this was the right time to hold hearings. If a limited amnesty bill is passed, the possibility of universal and unconditional amnesty will be lost. The liberal view of "let's be realistic and let's get that bill passed" is all too prevalent on the Hill. Pressure must be brought on the Senate to hold hearings on the issue of amnesty and a strong effort must be made to have potential recipients of amnesty testify. Write your Senators pointing out the danger and inadequacy of the Taft-Pell Resolution and also urge them to hold hearings.

In closing I must share some amusing details with you that took place during the House hearings. Dee Knight, the editor of Amex/Canada Magazine and I were finally allowed to sit in the hearing room. We were waiting for the witnesses to arrive when I suddenly had a vision of Jim Peck sitting in the WRL office. The memory stimulated me to action. Dee picked up 15 copies of Amex and I picked up copies of the WRL pamphlet on Amnesty, and we promptly passed them out not only to the press but put copies on all the Congressmen's seats. When they sat down the first thing to hit their eyes was the WRL pamphlet and Amex Magazine, so they picked them up and read them while they were waiting. It was the high point of the morning for me, and after reflection, I think for the Congressmen too.

GUERILLA THEATER IN ALBUQUERQUE

Photo by Gary Armstrong

This "ITT Executive" is, really, Craig Simpson, WRL southwestern coordinator, playing a role in a guerilla theater show on Chile, staged for John Connally February 9 as he addressed the New Mexico Republican Party's annual $100-a-plate dinner. Other local WRLers were costumed as executives of other U.S. corporations involved in Chile, as Chilean militiamen, as Chilean industrialists and as those responsible for the military overthrow of Allende. It will be recalled that Connally, while Secretary of the Treasury, was a leader of the international credit boycott against the Allende government.

PRISON MARCH IN LEAVENWORTH

Some 200 midwesterners converged on Leavenworth's federal prison February 18 for this march and a rally to support the prisoners' 13 grievances. The demonstrators were greeted by shouts and cheers from behind the walls. Negotiations have been in progress since last July's prisoners' protest action and 26 prisoners have been locked in solitary since that time. The march was initiated by Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee with the support of Plains States WRL, whose coordinator is Bob Mayer.

Photo by Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee

VIET EX-CONS GET TOGETHER

Twenty Americans from the east coast who went to jail for protesting the Vietnam war, assembled at the WRL office February 16 to discuss what the League can do for the prisoners and ex-prisoners.

They drafted a program for getting relevant reading matter into prisons. Tom Catlow, one of the participants, volunteered to work in the office on this project. Another meeting will be held in May in Philadelphia.

PRICE CUT ON '74 CALENDARS

Starting now, the price of the 1974 Peace Calendar, *As Long As The Rivers Shall Flow,* will be $2 instead of $2.75. In case anybody still doesn't know, the topic of the calendar is the Indians of North America. Regarding the previous years' calendars, our supply of the 1970 Calendar, *Days of Civil Disobedience,* has been exhausted.

PEACE STAMPS ON YOUR LETTERS

No, they can't be used as postage payment but they can be used to bring the peace issue to the attention of persons getting mail from you—WRL's beautiful 50th anniversary jumbo peace stamps.

They come 30 to a sheet—two sheets for a $1.